(c) *Anuqtqin* and, "Eastward": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned." The name is explained as follows:

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Tsuishmalu* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he carved an *Anuqtqin* and erected on his totem-pole[a] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

[a](d) *Kimsiut*, or, a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Nuskalk*. It is rumored that it was founded by a descendant of *Tsuishmalu* named *Kimsiu*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

[a](e) *Nukuk*, "Where the Bear Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Nuk*.

[a](f) *Nuqa*, or, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 3).

(g) *Qaxalkuna*, "The Treeless Flat": on the north side of the Bella Coola, supposedly about half a mile above *Kimsiut*. This village was long ago deserted.

(h) *Tsuhtsumalkuna*, "Where There Is Much Inshore-ooze," a kind of hollow-ceremonial place some distance from

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[a] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming one village. In each case there is an inside boundary mark.

[a] The Bella Coola believe that their gods, spirits and some people possessed influence in their affairs, even though the rule of Heaven and others on the lower edges of totem poles in the Nootka Wolf band indicates that the Bella Coola example is not universally accurate.

1:36:Dorsett E-5 (922-924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NBA

[773] hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Algaxtcw* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Algaxtcw* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some lived in non-human form; then sent him down to avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and resumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusatsa*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swooned down ropes which stretched between the worlds.

[177] [773] This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's most treasured possessions are the names brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first ancestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusatsa*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[776] *Nusatsa* is not only concerned with the history of an indi-

L:McGeorge E-1 (1921-1924) 1948
NEB McGeorge NEB

is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitkahe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the great decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good these claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest or a village may be allowed to use the territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is unthinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people inquired how it had been possible, in the late world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one where at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of such migrations at the very beginning of time. In case of this kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants were always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relations, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic exclusive already described causes the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other newcomers, strangers who have fled from their homes and sought refuge among the Bella Coola, the offspring of their intercourse with slaves; guests, foreigners, especially Carrier temporarily resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible] Coola social organization, and of the absence of constitutional obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slavery

Since a slave may[a] without stress in the Bella Coola society, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. So far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange them [illegible] with the members of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong relationship among the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong those obtained as presents or protection. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[a] One of the few effects of the tribe-unit's membership in Bella Coola was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the girl went to live with [illegible]

given to a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a member of the family. Slaves were borrowed between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When slaves were an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty blankets, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a Kwakiutl Indian, from near Owen Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. At Hagi especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken with slaves who were captured in war. Bella Coola village fought against its neighbours and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" to be the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"The slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently consoled by their

This is said to be an ancient custom due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in their native land and not as strangers from the southwards. It is remarkable that this tradition was kept without a break in the feeling even of the Bella Coola from the most distant past.

friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Bella Coola who had been ostracized and renounced had to undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, so far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. Many masters gave their slaves *Sacred*[*] dance prerogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[*]Sacred privileges (L.p. 98) were soon easily given.

5/16 Swanton, B-9 (1922-1924)/1943
NEA Bellacoola MSS

to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family.

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its ancestry, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his slave-ancestry. So, too, for the child or grand-

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child of a scient Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as such an one maintained a position of importance in the community by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, insulted by having reference made to his ancestry. In case of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to such a blot, but if he had stored for it with presents, references were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influential, although recollections of the origins were always carried for at least two or three generations. At the present time the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter became the husband of an influential Stuie woman. When she became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win an honourable position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry, but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has validated names and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate together, tended to break down the unsymmetrically enforced differences of rank.

Library of the Bureau of Ethnology
NEA Bellecombe NEA

as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in his own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[1]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ceremonial names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hesiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *nemit* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[1] Every effort was made to secure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was enacted and in full detail.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[1]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

[1] The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nusk* names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

Boas-Hawaiian E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
527 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
418 was married to the son of Tsaskwaum, a Bella Bella chief, living at Kwaiyal. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, Tsaskwaum gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to relieve her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. Tsaskwaum had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 305).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his
[582] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is univer-
[184] sally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their mar-
[582] riages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

[illegible] B-9 [illegible]
MSS Bella Coola 9[illegible]

with the others, including the one who had just been insulted, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several ancestral families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life.

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "*Kwaxicles*" people near Nowitti. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view.

DISCREDITABLE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus demeaned himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the

ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and no effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to weaken, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

[illegible]

[illegible] rape were either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

If the daughter of a chief did dishonour herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracised by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs. In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

B-9 (1922-1924)/1948
MES Bellacoola MES

to force his [illegible] sexual relations on a slave woman if she objected, although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, skinny leather filled with unlyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlope woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At potlatches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti-social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth

sense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kuksuit* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their powers, and feuds with the *o'alt* were common.

Although membership in the *kuxiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kuxiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kuksuit* by their masters. An important *kuxiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kuxiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kuksuit* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kuxiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

to burn in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the cause of the scandal in the town where the error took place may be blackened within by dark horses.

An individual *kaxiwé* who errs is punished by a scandal, as is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing wounded *kaxiwé* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of loaded canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kaxiwé* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kaxiwé*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kaxiwé* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Sinte* attacked *Alqâlâxl*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kaxiwé* or *xuxuk* ceremonial.

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out

It is hoped that this somewhat lengthy description will assist the reader in following the complicated details of the actual rites.

Initiation

Although *hactcin* ceremonials take place only during the winter, preliminary arrangements are discussed and carried out throughout the year. One of the subjects over which the old men and the marshals debate at length is the admission of new members. Sometimes the relatives of a young man or woman wish to have him, or her, initiated and propose to use a *hactcin* prerogative dormant in their family. More often an elderly person is willing to transfer one of his prerogatives to a younger relative; comparatively few are created owing to the small sums needed to validate them. In either case, one of the marshals is consulted. He passes word to his fellows, and to a number of the elderly *hactcinai*, who meet in the council-place of the village. The prospective novice's relatives are there and express the belief that he is sufficiently mature in mind to be a credit to the society. If some of those present demur, the matter is discussed at length until all agree, or until it appears that there is strong objection on account of the youth or inconsistency in character of the proposed novice. In this case his relatives can only hope that their proposal will be more favourably received the following year. Sometimes the young man or woman is informed that his relatives have exerted their influence with *Anɬ'ídnɑdaiɑ* to make him a *hactcin*, more often he remains in ignorance until the ceremonial season.

The initiation of one admitted under these normal circumstances is the same as for one made a "shaman" on account of too great knowledge. Sometimes the marshals themselves take the first steps. If few *hactcinai* wish to give ceremonials so that there are gaps in the nightly performances, the marshals select a suitable slave and ask his owner to give him some *hactcin* prerogative of little value. If the latter agrees, a pretext is found to lure the victim to the woods whence he is carried,

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[Kwakiutl Society Initiation]

struggling to flee, to the secret meeting-place. There the members discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

Initiation can take place at any time during the *Winter* season. After consulting with the members in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *Initiates* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the members stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ————, so that he may become a *Initiate*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the members. The *Initiates* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Awi'kkenukusix*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Awi'kkenukusix*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[1]

[1] According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Awi'kkenukusix* also remains in every repository.

[The Cannibal Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

in banning the evil if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the most filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he stabs his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a corpse-eater commonly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 71), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,* but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

*Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for convenience.

[See category 116, P 164(A) - ANALYST]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

if the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must 575 a
next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all 796 a
wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe 567 ●
that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. 578
The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is
sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time
the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the
uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the
dancer and a body of athletic *hohaetsi*, who pounce on the
unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and
the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of
the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then
the *hohaetsi* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the
village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated
readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The
corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed,
convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that
they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they
will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner.

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may 575 a
be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead 796 a
to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of 567
the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action 578
which has the significance of:

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This [558]

type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *Initiates*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Kekalet*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Spillanaqmy of Stuie* and *Snanq* of the Kimsquit River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *Initiat* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Snanq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *Initiates* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *Initiat* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

[726] cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
[784] required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing
[722] would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

[726] As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were [727] taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to [422] the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of [527] their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

[727] The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skalsmamaxts* on the [583] fiord below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe'tls* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had [527] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

If the war had any laws of long duration in which ceremonial [727]
forms findings had been created, captives were often ran-
somed by their relatives, who were summoned for the purpose
when the fate of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners re- [326]
mained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually
as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing
were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his
ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have
been a rare practice. One extremely old Kwaguth woman
related that in her childhood she had seen a captive scrubbed
raw on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there,
his mouth crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other
similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that
this must have been an unusual case. It is true that headdress
have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections
of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture
was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about
which reticence is to be expected, but information would have
been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had
been one which played an important part in the lives of the
Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then [422]
suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When [714]
setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head [168]
with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own.
At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or,
more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that
the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to
their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate [721]
for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes [548]
brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over [682]
the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any [721]
opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the
Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating
terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Shamans' Accounts

Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

KITKATLA WAR

For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that it was unusual.

Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Hakwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

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Thompson NE15

B T 527 [434]

shore of a river where "the white men got money stone." Then *Slukwala* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Fort Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Slukwala*'s master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Slukwala* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Slukwala* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Slukwala* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, so a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

B [648] [177]

The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Tsikse*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the most

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Carrier NET

The other upstood, as they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nuxalk* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and Ojmikmy spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your *chief* if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Tsē'ōmai* and *Ojmikmy* had eaten part of a *naiaiē* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers greeted the two bodies with ignominy, now throwing spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nuxalk* people themselves, but *Wīnāx*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *hāxūsta* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

"*Wa, wa,*" he said. "See the breadth of the sky.[1] I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Wīnāx* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *hāxūsta* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

Next day the *Nuxalk* people buried the four victims. *Stmāxem* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home.

[1] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fail to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers [171] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, [567] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless [575] redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *kusiut* society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

526 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *sélsa*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] pecked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found [172] near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Likewise called *sélsa*, a name said either to be derived from that of a fungus, or that the latter is derived from it.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Patlas*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
567 slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Patlas* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
826 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in
[302] general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches as marks of virility given to them by *Alquntäm*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more
[186] hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[1]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[1] This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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qwatkinaiy: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *hasiut* performer.
Kwatsi: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.
Kw'ayi: Mountain above *Ilmoo*.
qwāxa'a: Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
Kwhaiait: Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qwāxe: 1—Beaver.
2—*Nastokēmg* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kyāsati: Man mentioned in a song.
Kyilkaskmg: *Kaxlaxt* name of a *Ilmoo* man with prerogative of biting himself.
qwāsēlā: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.
Kyāwaskuat: Influential *Nuqkalst* chief who died about 1910.
Kyastwāsmk: Ancestral name of a *Ilmoo* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Kyawaxa: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kaxlaxt* name of a Kimsquit woman.
kwaxsiqwal: Clean, dry skull.
kwaxqwa'a: Stump, in the language of Raven.
Kyaxqwax: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Kyaxqwax* man.
Kyax'sala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Kyaxsala: Ancestral name of a *Tsimsil* woman.
qwaxwa: Large, cone-shaped whistle used in sound rites.
Kyaxyala, "Salty!": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qyāxsi: To drift over, of smoke.
Kyāxsgaiaxs a: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Ilmoo* in the beginning of time.
qwaya: Framework of split sticks for roasting salmon.
qyāyi: Drum.
Kyāyusi: One of the first men to settle at *Nuqkalst* in the beginning of time.
Kwayul: Bella Bella village.
qwaa: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" ceremonies.
qyāyu: Third day of a *hasiut* dance.
Kyāsisiba: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.
Kyāsnuksa: Settlement in the Carrier country.
qwāsalton, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
qwāsti: Wolverine.
qwāsdāla dāmen, "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or vice versa.
Kyasi: 1—One of the names of Raven as child.
2—*Tlaiyakmx* name of a Kimsquit man.
3—*Kaxsil* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kyaskuax: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Kyaskwa'a: 1—*Kaxlaxt* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
2—*Kaxlaxt* name of a Kimsquit man.
qwaxu: White swan.

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisaˀlk. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nookˀsaˀlaˀwis, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Talaˀsimit of the Talaˀmut, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kˀlˀūsk name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qˀuˀmaˀyas name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nookˀsaˀlaˀwisˀs (which is his Kˀlˀūsk name) present Qˀuˀmaˀyas name is Atlˀlˀtsemtˀlasˀaic, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kaliˀkˀis. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kˀlˀūsk names of the members. In two cases only the Qˀuˀmaˀyas names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisaˀlk secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisaˀlk secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaˀlk secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisaˀlk carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headrooms and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person at a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it also potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kˀlˀūsk is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaˀkˀtemˀs. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she frequents from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaˀkˀtemˀs invited her into her cave and taught

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children.

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-drums, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

The head of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.'

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kᾱ'sint these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xᾱ'mtsiqa and Xᾱmxᾱmalâ'qLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xᾱ'mtsiqa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xᾱmxᾱmalâ'qLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumki'lik·a and Ainmalâ'qLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmki'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsiqa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lins (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, At'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisaun'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisaun'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisaun'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bl'ixula dance the sisaun'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisaun'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisaun'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'alu'sta, the Indian, to whom I